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MODEST and IMPARTIAL

REPLY

TO A

PAMPHLET lately publiſhed, entituled, *A ſecond Series of Facts and Arguments*, &c.

[Price One Shilling.]

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REPLY

TO A

Pamphlet lately publiſhed,

ENTITULED

A Second Series of Facts and Arguments, &c. with ſome Remarks alſo on the *Occaſional Letter*, and *the Examination of the Principles*, &c.

IN WHICH

The great and important Affair of the *Hanau* Treaty is fully diſcuſſed, and other Points of Conſequence ſet in their true Lights.

In a LETTER to a certain noble LORD.

Multò promptius eſt cavillari, quàm æmulari.

LONDON:

Printed for JAMES ROBERTS at the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. MDCCXLIX.

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A

MODEST and IMPARTIAL

REPLY, &c.

AS I fancy the *Senatorial* Campaign is now in a good measure over, and your *Lordſhip* may have Leiſure not to run over, but to read what wears the Face of a *Political Diſcourſe*, and to reflect coolly upon its Contents ; I ſhall take the Liberty of offering you a few plain and undiſguiſed Thoughts upon the Appearance of a Treatiſe entitled, *A ſecond Series of Facts and Arguments*, &c. ſaid to be written by the Author of an *Examination of the Principles*, &c. who very poſſibly wrote alſo *the Occaſional Letter*, and is without

doubt one of the *freeſt* Writers with reſpect both to *Perſons* and *Things*, that this Age of unbounded Liberty has produced. I would not however have your *Lordſhip* imagine that I mention the Freedom of this Author's Stile, from an Inclination to imitate him, becauſe nothing can be farther from my Intention; what I have to ſay may be conveyed without either *Flights* of *Rhetorick*, or *Tropes* from *Billingſgate*. Truth and Reaſon want none of theſe Acceſſories, his might be a different Caſe, and perhaps he might ſhew his *Judgment*, tho' not his *Manners*, in that way of Writing, for it is no unuſual Artifice to aim at hiding *ſoft* Arguments under *hard* Language.

I muſt in the firſt place take the Liberty of obſerving, that many, if not moſt of the Subjects treated in all theſe Pamphlets, and particularly thoſe in the laſt, if there had been any juſt Foundation for what is ſaid of them in thoſe Pamphlets, were much more proper for the Conſideration of *Perſons* in *another Place*, than for the View of the *Publick* in the Way in which they have been brought before that *Tribunal*; and muſt farther obſerve, that they likewiſe have met with ſuch Conſideration as this *laſt* Pamphlet plainly

con-

confeſſes, and there all that can be urged in favour of the Cauſe theſe Pamphlets ſupport, was actually ſet forth with all the Advantages that the Eloquence of a *certain Perſon* could give them, but were it ſeems not only *anſwered* but *exploded*; notwithſtanding which, the Cauſe is brought on again before *another Judicatory*, and in a way not at all new in our times, that is, by way of *Appeal* from their *Repreſentives* to the *People*. In this Method the Author triumphs exceedingly, and gives himſelf the higheſt Airs imaginable, which is no new thing either, and amounts upon the whole to no more than this, that a *vanquiſhed Orator* may become a *victorious Pamphleteer!*

As there cannot be a better Judge of theſe things than your *Lordſhip*, you will very eaſily ſee the Cauſe, I am afraid I muſt not ſay the Reaſon, of this. Where a Man ſpeaks in an *Aſſembly* of intelligent Perſons, he muſt deliver *Truth*, and argue from *Facts*, in order to *prevail*; but when he talks to the *World* in *general*, he may take the Liberty of *making* Facts; and as a *Coiner* will always live in Affluence, while he can put off his *baſe Metal* for *Silver*, ſo ſuch an *Advocate* can never fail of *Applauſe*, while he re-

mains *unanſwered* ; ſince he who aſſumes a Liberty of making Facts will find it very eaſy to make *Arguments*, and thoſe Arguments will carry a very *plauſible Appearance*, while the *Facts* remain undiſputed. *Victories* of this kind, therefore, are like thoſe on certain *Amphitheatres*, where a vociferous *Champion* boaſts himſelf an *undoubted Conqueror*, becauſe his *Antagoniſt* did not *meet* him.

Now I dare ſay your *Lordſhip* will allow that there may be *Circumſtances* both with regard to the *high* Caſe and the *low*, which may juſtify refuſing the *Combat* ; and perhaps in both a better Reaſon cannot be given than this, that the *Vapourer* had been *engaged* and *beaten* before in the Opinion of *proper Judges*. All the Impreſſion therefore, that ſuch bragging and bouncing can make, muſt be upon weak Minds, on ſuch as are not capable of conſidering the Diſpute, or of forming a *right Judgment* upon it if they do. But becauſe *the Vulgar* in both Senſes may be very numerous, and in Conſequence of it very *clamorous*, it may not be altogether inexpedient, tho' I abſolutely deny that it is in the leaſt requiſite, to enter a little into the *Merits* of theſe *Bear Garden Triumphs*, and to run the Hazard of being called

called a few foul Names, for the ſake of trying to ſet in a clear Light, the Cauſe of Juſtice and Truth.

It is from theſe Motives, *my Lord*, and becauſe I look upon you as a perfect Judge of *polemical Combats*, that I take the Liberty of addreſſing to you what occurred to me upon the reading this laſt Pamphlet, and recollecting the former; and when I have ſet before you my Sentiments, I ſhall leave it with your *Lordſhip* to judge, whether any Man of an impartial Diſpoſition, and who has but a tolerable Knowledge of what has paſſed in the World for theſe laſt ſeven Years, can ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by ſuch a String of *pretended Facts*, and the groſs and ill-founded *Arguments* by which they are connected together. It is very poſſible that the Author, or Authors, for ſome ſay there are more than one, of theſe extraordinary *Pieces*, may treat me with their uſual Appellations of *Blunderer*, *Blockhead*, &c. which however I hope they will *not* for their *own* Sakes; becauſe, as I am pretty ſure I ſhall be able to detect moſt of their *Sophiſms*, the more they endeavour to leſſen my Abilities the *lower*, moſt certainly they will *ſet* their *own*; for he who can be be refuted by *a Fool*,

muſt ſtand ſtill at a greater Diſtance from *Wiſdom* Himſelf.

In this laſt Pamphlet there is a Blunder at the very *Threſhold*, or rather a Concatination of Blunders; a *beautiful Monſter* is not only a new Term, but a *Soleciſm* in *Speech*; there being nothing more common in Converſation or in Writing, than to uſe the Epithet *Monſtrous* to expreſs the moſt hideous Deformity; and if this be the meaning of the *Adjective*, it is not eaſy to conceive how the *Subſtantive* can convey any *Idea* when in Conjunction with *Beauty*, becauſe the *Epithet* excludes what is ſuggeſted by the *Object*. But to go on, what have Miniſters either good or bad to do with *Cæſar* or *Cromwell?* they might be compared to *Sejanus* or *Wolſey*, or to any other *Abuſers* of *Power*, either in ancient or modern Times; but then it muſt be *Abuſers* of a *delegated* Power; for to compare *Miniſters* to *Uſurpers*, carries in it nothing either of Rhime or of Reaſon, and to every competent Judge muſt appear abſurd and unnatural, however ornamented and dreſſed out; for it is not in the Power of Eloquence or Art to give this the Appearance of *Propriety*, unleſs we apply the Author's Figure to it, and call

call it in point of Reaſoning a *beautiful Monſter*.

All the ſucceeding Paragraphs are written preciſely in the ſame Stile, that is to ſay, quite out of the Road of common Language and of common Senſe, in a rumbling, rambling, round about Diſcourſe of bad Men that were great, and of great Men that were not good; with the Impropriety of all which, the Author himſelf being at laſt ſatisfied, he ſinks at once into a down-right groſs Compariſon of the *Two Brothers* to a Couple of Pettifoggers; then faces about again, and tells his Readers that theſe Pettifoggers are the *Cæſars* and *Cromwells* of our Time. In the Name of Wonder what does all this mean? if the Perſons he has a Mind to abuſe have no Reſemblance to *Cæſar* or *Cromwell*, why were they compared to them? or if they were more like a Couple of Pettifoggers, why did he not begin and ſtick to that? I ſhould not have troubled your Lordſhip ſo long upon this Head, but that it ſhews you the Nature of the Writer. Equally uneaſy and angry, juſt as much perplexed as abuſive, no Wonder he ſhould quarrel with other People when you ſee he can't ſo much as agree with himſelf.

But let us come to ſomething that is worth ſpeaking of, and as the learned Author expreſſes it, take our Departure from a Promontory ſufficiently eminent in the Charts. Yet before I do this, I muſt put your Lordſhip in mind of one Thing, to which I believe you are no Stranger, that this Writer derives no Authority from the great Man he affects to commend, and whom I beg leave to aſſure you, I have no Intention to cenſure. If that great Man had been in the leaſt inclined to take any Share in this Diſpute, or had ſo much as furniſhed Hints to thoſe who have made it a Diſpute, he would certainly have taught them to ſpeak another Language; and, tho' he could never have taught them to ſpeak his own, which will be ever admired, even by thoſe who do not approve what he delivers, yet certainly he would have ſupplied them with ſomething that had the Colour of Truth and the Appearance of Argument, and not left them to ſuppoſe Facts, and then pretend to reaſon from ſuch Suppoſitions, which however is their conſtant Method.

Whatever therefore I am obliged to ſay in reference to that great Man, muſt not

not be ſo much aſcribed to me as to them; for it is this Method of theirs of ſuppoſing, that brings his Conduct into Queſtion, with which therefore I ſhall meddle as little as poſſible, and as far as I am compelled to meddle with it, ſhall ſpeak with all the Decency and Decorum that becomes one, who has in his Eye a Perſon more than once a great Miniſter by his Sovereign's Favour, and always a great Man independant of his Birth and Titles, from thoſe Abilities which he derives from Nature, and that Cultivation of them which has been the Fruit of his own Care. It muſt not therefore be underſtood, that becauſe the Author or Authors of theſe Pamphlets have taken upon them to applaud his Conduct, that from thence they might derive an Opportunity of abuſing others; that therefore in defence of them I ſhould think myſelf at Liberty to abuſe him, but quite the contrary. I am very unwillingly conſtrained to deny the Truth of what they have advanced upon this Subject, that I may ſhew their Abuſe to be without Foundation; as their Praiſe perhaps is none of the moſt ſincere, but the Leaven of Intereſt which runs through all

all theſe Pamphlets, is with great Probability to be eſteem'd common to both.

I muſt alſo premiſe, that it is not my Deſign to diſcuſs the great Queſtion, whether the Treaty negotiated at *Hanau*, if concluded, would have been advantageous to the common Cauſe, or to the Intereſts of *Great Britain*; for I profeſs, that as to this, I have neither ſufficient Lights nor competent Abilities; but the Queſtion that I mean to debate is this, whether from any thing theſe Writers have ſhewn to the World, there is any good Reaſon to believe that the noble *Perſon* they are at preſent diſpoſed to flatter, was in reality convinced that the Treaty before mentioned was a Treaty fit for his Maſter to make, and would have adviſed and engaged him to make it, if he had not been prevented and with-held from doing it by others, who conſequently ought to be anſwerable for this Meaſure.

This is a Queſtion which they have brought upon the Carpet, and which they pretend they have ſufficiently proved by Evidence, or as their peculiar Phraſe is, by a Series of Facts and Arguments. Now whatever Weight theſe may have with others, I muſt confeſs they have none

none at all with me. I have read, I have conſidered all that they advance, and without having much Recourſe to the many Facts which they have ſuppreſſed, I think it may be fully proved in ſpite of the Facts they have feigned, and the Arguments from them deduced, there are not ſufficient Grounds to conclude, that this Treaty, as it was negotiated without the Participation of the Miniſters at home, would have been ſigned and concluded abroad, but for the Oppoſition that was given to it by thoſe Miniſters.

It is a thing notoriouſly known to all the World, that with reſpect to foreign Negotiations, and more eſpecially thoſe regarding the Empire, the noble Peer, then one of the Secretaries of State, piqued himſelf upon having a very peculiar and ſuperior Knowledge, which manifeſtly appeared from the Conferences he had with the Imperial Miniſter, in reference to the ſecularizing ſome Eccleſiaſtical Territories after the manner practiſed at the Peace of *Weſtphalia*, in order to make his then Imperial Majeſty *Charles* the ſeventh ſome kind of Compenſation for the Claims it was expected he ſhould renounce in order to a Peace. I ſay it evidently appeared from hence, that this *Britiſh* Miniſter

piqued himſelf upon that kind of Knowledge, for this Matter having taken Air, and turning to the Emperor's Diſadvantage, that noble Perſon with great Generoſity informed the publick of the Truth of the Fact, which was, that he mentioned the Securalizations to Baron *Haſlang*, and that they were not propoſed by that Miniſter to him. This leaves us no room to doubt that he had ſtudied the *Germanick* Conſtitution, and was well acquainted with the different Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes and States that make up that powerful Body. It was for this Reaſon, no doubt, that his Attendance was particularly grateful in the Journey which the King his Maſter made that Year; and from thence we have no room to queſtion, that Prince *William* of *Heſſe Caſſel* was induced to apply himſelf with much Aſſiduity to his Lordſhip on the Behalf of his Imperial Majeſty, for whom that Stateſman always profeſſed the higheſt perſonal Reſpect. His famous Negotiation at *Hanau*, tho' it was the immediate Effects of that Application, yet it was no leſs the Fruit of that Diſpoſition manifeſted by this noble Perſon before he left *England*, and his avowed Concern for the Miſeries of the

Empire,

Empire, and for the particular and perſonal Misfortunes of his Imperial Majeſty, whoſe Virtues really deſerved it. Thus we ſee plainly the true Reaſons why his his Lordſhip was ſo much courted and reſpected abroad, and that by all Parties; and we ſee more eſpecially what the Motives were, that determined ſo wiſe and able a Politician as Prince *William* of *Heſſe* to hope for abſolute Succeſs in the Negotiations he ſet on foot, through the Interpoſition of this *Britiſh* Miniſter with the King his Maſter.

This was not an Affair haſtily tranſacted, or in which things were hurried to a point. There was indeed a great deal of Eagerneſs and Warmth expreſſed on one Side, and a great deal of Tenderneſs and Pity, as well as Eſteem and Deference, profeſſed on the other; but ſtill there was a mixture of Diffidence in reference to the real Diſpoſition of that Prince, and whether it was poſſible for him to break off abſolutely with *France*, without which, it was conceived that nothing could be concluded with his Imperial Majeſty with Safety, much leſs with Advantage to the common Cauſe. What the Reaſons were which induced, or how far they might juſtify the Prolixity of this manner of

treating,

treating, and the Inactivity of the Army which arose from it, is as little my Business to enquire, as it is in my Power to declare; but most certainly, whatever they were, how weighty or how light soever, it very little concerns those Ministers that in these Pamphlets are so outrageously abused, but ought to be put to the Acco nt of the Statesman who was upon the Spot, who professed himself particularly and perfectly well skilled in these Matters, and had wrought himself into universal Credit at home and abroad upon that Head. To him therefore at that Time, when all Things were fresh in Memory, all these Steps were ascribed, and ought to be ever ascribed, let the Nature of them be what they will.

At length Prince *William* of *Hesse*, who in this whole Affair managed every thing for the Emperor, and at the same time for many and those too weighty Reasons, looked upon himself as highly considered by the Monarch with whom he was treating, and his Minister; pushed Things so warmly, and made (as this last Pamphlet particularly confesses) so many and so great Concessions, that the Treaty was reduced into Form, and there was nothing wanting but the signing, wh ch notwith-

notwithſtanding his Maſter's Preſence, that Miniſter declined till it ſhould be ſent over to *England* in order to be there examined, and the Senſe of the King's Council and Miniſtry known, for which only a Fortnight's Time was aſked. It is a Thing notorious, and as ſuch is admitted by the Authors of this Pamphlet, that the Sagacity of the Prince of *Heſſe* made him inſtantly ſuſpect ſomething at the Bottom of this, and that after the Treaty was intirely broke off, his ſerene Highneſs made no Difficulty at all of declaring, that this was not either more or leſs than he at firſt ſuſpected. But of whom were his firſt Suſpicions, of the Miniſters, or Lords Juſtices at Home? your Lordſhip, I dare ſay, does not believe that, or imagine that any Aſſertions could induce any Man in his Wits to believe it. His ſerene Highneſs then ſuſpected the Miniſter with whom he was treating, ſuſpected this Propoſition was made purely to avoid ſigning immediately, ſuſpected that it would iſſue in procuring a Pretence for not ſigning at all. Theſe, I ſay, it is rational to believe were the Suſpicions of the Prince of *Heſſe*; yet I ſhould have been loth to aſſert poſitively that ſo they were, if his ſerene Highneſs himſef

himſelf had not publiſhed it to the World, and put it out of doubt, even with the Authors of theſe Pamphlets.

We come now to the great and important Fact, which is, that this Scheme of a Treaty actually came over to *England* to be examined and conſidered by the Lords Juſtices. But does the Writer or Writers of theſe Pamphlets believe, or to put the Queſtion cloſer, can your Lordſhip believe, that the Scheme of a Treaty came without a Scrape of a Pen? Is it poſſible to imagine that the wiſe and great Miniſter, who had negotiated it alone, and brought it thus far, who when he had brought it thus far declined ſigning it till he had the Sentiments of the Miniſtry at Home, and who tranſmitted it in order to receive their Sentiments; can it, I ſay, be imagined or believed, that how much ſoever his Time was taken up, or how ſparing ſoever he might be in throwing his Sentiments upon Paper, that he ſent over this important Inſtrument without communicating his Thoughts upon it, or acquainting thoſe to whom he ſent it, what Advantages were to be expected on one Side, or what Difficulties or Detriment might ariſe on the other?

Take

Take their Suppoſition for granted, that he was the Patron and Friend as well as the ſole Negotiator of this ſalutary Treaty: Is it not natural from thence to conclude, that upon ſending of it over, he would likewiſe ſend his Reaſons, ſhew why and with what Views it had been carried ſo far, and in what manner the Intereſts of *Great-Britain* and the Welfare of the common Cauſe ſhould dictate the Concluſion of it? If he did not do this, is any thing that they have advanced credible, that is to ſay, can any Man with his Eyes open diſcern the leaſt Cauſe for determining in his own Breaſt, that he had this Matter ſo much at Heart as theſe Writers aſſert him to have had? or that having it ſo much at Heart, that he would in Duty to his Maſter, in Juſtice to the Emperor, in Regard to his own Honour and Reputation, neglect not only ſo favourable an Opportunity, but fall into ſo inexcuſable an Omiſſion? If any ſuch Letter was written, and theſe Authors are ſo thoroughly acquainted, as they ought to have been, with this Subject, why did they not mention it? why not give ſo much as a Hint of it? or why in all that has been written on that Subject in other Langua-

ges, is there not a Syllable ſaid of thing that would have been more ſatisfact ry, more concluſive, than all that either has been or could be ſaid?

View this Matter now in another Light. You, my Lord, who are ſo good a Judge of Matters of this Nature, weigh with yourſelf what muſt be thought of this Scheme of a Treaty, of ſo great Weight, of ſo very nice a Nature, which beſides its particular Relation to *Great-Britain*, was to operate ſo ſtrongly upon the general Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe*, coming over hither naked, and without the leaſt Recommendation, with this bare and blunt Queſtion, *Shall it be ſigned or not?* You cannot, I perſuade myſelf, believe, that ſuch a Thing ever happen'd, or that the Sentiments of Perſons of ſuch high Rank, and in the Station they then were, ſhould be called for in ſo abrupt a Manner, or put to decide at ſuch ſhort Warning a thing of ſuch infinite Conſequence without any Lights at all. But if this be as I think, your Lordſhip, and all the World muſt eſteem it incredible; then a new Queſtion will ariſe, and that is, whence they muſt have thoſe Lights, thoſe neceſſary Lights in this Caſe?

This,

This, without pretending to the Skill of a *Machiavel*, may be fully anſwered. They could receive neceſſary Lights from no other Perſon in the World but the *great Stateſman*, then at his Maſter's *Right-Hand*. For this Scheme of a Treaty being founded on the State of *Germany*, at that very Juncture of which it was impoſſible the Miniſtry here at Home could receive any exact Intelligence by another Canal, it was equally natural and neceſſary for them to take their Notions of Things at that time from him; and as there was not Space ſufficient before their receiving this important Project, for them to gain any Inſtruction as to the Nature of it, ſo their Anſwer was demanded with ſuch Speed, that it was ſimply impoſſible for them to obtain any farther Informations than ſuch as came with it. I leave your Lordſhip then to judge, after conſidering that all I have advanced is perfectly conſiſtent with the Facts they have delivered, who ought to be anſwerable for rejecting this Treaty; thoſe who barely ſaw it, and ſaw it in that Light, in which it was intended they ſhould ſee it, or he who from the Beginning negotiated this Treaty, brought it ſo very near its Concluſion, and then

ſo dextrouſly contrived, to prevent its coming to any Concluſion at all.

Your Lordſhip muſt have obſerved, that the Authors of theſe Pamphlets tack perpetually Conjecture to Conjecture, join one Suppoſition to another; and having ſome Way or other connected a Multitude of real and imaginary Circumſtances, conclude that they have furniſhed irreſiſtable Evidence of the Truth of whatever they undertake to prove. I ſhall not, however, follow their Example, but ſhall content myſelf with putting you in mind of a very few Facts equally notorious and inconteſtable, which agree perfectly well with the Account I have given, and are utterly irreconcileable with the romantick Hiſtory of the Two Brothers.

The firſt of theſe is, that Prince *William* of *Heſſe* reſented the Uſage he had met with, and the Fate of this Negotiation, with the greateſt Warmth imaginable; and the Object of his Reſentment was *the Miniſter* who negotiated it. The Authors of the romantick Hiſtory tell us, that in this he was deceived, nay, the King of *Pruſſia* was deceived, all the World at Home and Abroad were deceived, till they brought this important

portant Secret to Light. But is this poſſible? could the *Two B———rs* induce the Prince of *Heſſe* to ſuſpect, that the Treaty when ſent over to *England* would be rejected? Did they furniſh him with the Grounds of thoſe Suſpicions, or was it to ſerve them that he afterwards declared that he was ſatisfied his Suſpicions were well-grounded? And what were theſe Suſpicions? That the ſending the Treaty to *England* was an Art of his, and that it would be ſent in ſuch a Manner, as that it ſhould not be reliſhed? All theſe Tranſactions happened not in *England* but in *Germany*, under the very Eye of the Prince of *Heſſe*, and perhaps under that alſo of the King of *Pruſſia*, who made a very myſterious Journey about that Time; and ſome ſay, made a Viſit *incog.* to the Emperor at *Frankfort*. Yet theſe ſagacious Princes went upon a falſe *Scent*, and left the Truth to be *ſmelt out* many Years afterwards by ſome *anonymous Engliſh* Pamphleteers.

This Story would have appeared ridiculous at firſt Sight, if they had not likewiſe attempted to give ſome Account of the Concluſion of the other famous Treaty of *Worms*, in which that Miniſter acted a very different Part, by ſubſcrib-

ing *firſt*, and afterwards ſending it over to be *ratified*. This they would have to be in a great Meaſure the Produce of his Reſentment, upon the Diſappointment that he met with in reſpect to the former favouriteTreaty, which Story of theirs halts upon both Feet. If this great Man was in reality ſo ſenſible of the Advantages that would have reſulted from Peace at that Time, and at the ſame time ſo thoroughly perſwaded, that all theſe Advantages were amply provided for in the Scheme of the Treaty of *Hanau*; why did he not proceed to *ſign that*, to which he was earneſtly preſſed by Perſons of ſo high a Rank? This would have been an inconteſtable Mark of his Sincerity, though perhaps the Method he took ſhewed him a more refined Stateſman. The Miniſters at Home might have *prevented its Ratification*, and then the Share that every body had in this Buſineſs would have been perfectly apparent. His ſigning the latter could have no other Reaſon than *Diſpatch*; for ſo able a Miniſter could entertain little Doubt of its being *ratified* in *England*, becauſe the Scheme of the *Peace* having been *rejected*, there was an unavoidable Neceſſity of

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cloſing with a Treaty abſolutely requiſite for carrying on the War.

Thus theſe Facts, when truly ſtated, ſet the Abilities and Conduct of *all* Parties in their proper Points of Light, and have none of thoſe Inconveniencies that muſt inevitably attend artificial Relations, calculated to ſerve particular Purpoſes, to heighten or to depreſs, to blanch or to blacken *Characters*, juſt as it ſuits the *Writer*'s Deſign. All the World has concurred in almoſt every Juncture, in confeſſing the *great Abilities* of the *Stateſman* who was then at the Head of Affairs; and there can be nothing more wild and inconſiſtent, than to pretend that while he was in the very *Zenith* of his *Power*, he was the *Dupe* of thoſe who meant to *ſupplant* him. I ſay, there can be nothing more extravagant or ridiculous than this, except it be endeavouring afterwards to make thoſe Perſons paſs for Men of *little* or no Abilities, by whom ſo great, ſo able a Miniſter, in the very Plenitude of his Power, was ſo unaccountably *outwitted*.

To ſuch pitiful Arts, to ſuch wretched Shifts and Contrivances are Men reduced; when, forgetting all Reſpect to Truth, and loſing all Tenderneſs for *other*

Mens Fame and their *own*, they condeſcend to ſit down, and frame political *Fictions* for the Amuſement and Deception of the Publick, in order to nouriſh and keep alive that Spirit of Animoſity and Faction, which firſt encouraged our Enemies to enter into thoſe Meaſures that forced us into a *War*, then diſappointed many of our Deſigns, and defeated various of our Efforts in the *Proſecution* of that *War*, and remains now the only Means of preventing us from reaping the *Advantages* that might be derived to us from *Peace*. If ſuch Perſons would but give themſelves Leiſure to reflect on the Conſequences of theſe Practices, and would but compare the trifling Advantages that reſult to themſelves from the Reputation of *Parts* thus *applied*, and *Abilities* thus *employed*, with the Dangers, the Difficulties, the Diſtreſſes that are brought upon the *Nation* by weakening the Hands of the Adminiſtration, and leſſening that Confidence, that in all well-ordered States ought to ſubſiſt between the *Government* and the *People*; they would certainly lay aſide ſuch mean and diſhonourable Methods, and endeavour to render themſelves conſpicuous, (which might

might be alſo more eaſily done) by entering heartily into the *Service* of their *Country*.

The Truth and Juſtice of theſe Reflections will become ſtill the more evident, if we conſider the Sequel of the *Romantick* Hiſtory, and the moſt amazing Confidence with which its Authors labour to perſuade their Countrymen, that the two illuſtrious Perſons theſe Pieces are written to abuſe, *croſſed* every Meaſure that was indiſpenſably requiſite for the Support of that Treaty which *themſelves* had *ratified*, and threatened their *noble Rival* with no leſs than utter Deſtruction, for not concluding and ſigning a *Treaty*, which not *he* but *themſelves* had *rejected*. Yet this, in the moſt direct and poſitive Terms, and as if they were able to produce the moſt inconteſtable Evidence in ſupport of it, is aſſerted in the *Occaſional Letter*, and again in this *laſt* Pamphlet is inſiſted upon from the Authority of that extraordinary *Piece*, which is there perhaps by *its Author* cried up to the Skies. But it may be, indeed it is neceſſary to cite a Paſſage from thence, to ſhew that I have no Intention of impoſing upon your Lordſhip or the World. After ſetting out a bold Charge againſt the Two great

great Men for oppoſing the Treaty with *Saxony*, they proceed thus,

" But whatever was the Gloſs they " ſet upon their Conduct, the true Secret " of it has been diſcovered in the *Occa-* " *ſional Letter* above quoted: They had " iniquitouſly brought their Broad- " Bottom *Allies* to believe, that his L—p " was the Perſon who had *rejected* " the Propoſitions of *Hanau*, and had " *fed* them with the *Hope* of an *Impeach-* " *ment*; and the latter were become ſo " *eager* for the *Sport*, that nothing leſs " than a *Share* in the *Adminiſtration* " would reconcile them to a Diſappoint- " ment. It was therefore become abſolute- " ly neceſſary to *diſappoint* and *mortify* " the —— to diſtreſs his *Allies*, and to " obſtruct every *Branch* of *Service* as " much as poſſible, that his——might be " forced to remove a *Man* from his *Coun-* " *cils* and *Preſence*, whoſe *Abilities* he " was not permitted to make *uſe of*, and " that he might be ſerved by *them* " only in *what Manner* they *pleaſed*."

Here you plainly ſee that it is imputed to the two great Perſonages under the Diſpleaſure of theſe Writers, that they firſt of all impoſed upon a very *great Party* in both Houſes, by making them believe,

lieve, that by concluding the Treaty of *Hanau* a general Peace might have been obtained, equally advantageous to the common Cauſe, and beneficial and ſatiſfactory to this Nation; that the letting ſlip this favourable, this happy Opportunity, was wholly owing to the *Stateſman* then at the *Head* of our *Affairs* abroad, very nigh to, and in full Poſſeſſion of the *Ear* of his *Maſter*; that for this Reaſon he was *diſliked* by *them*, as well as *obnoxious* to that Party; ſo that if no other Method could be found, he might very ſoon be driven from his *Poſt*, by the bringing to bear upon him the parliamentary *Battery* of an *Impeachment*. Now, my Lord, if this Method was ever practiſed, it muſt have been practiſed upon ſome of the *chief Men* in the Party; and to perſuade the World that thoſe *Chiefs* ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by a *Tale* abſolutely falſe, and, which is worſe, *apparently falſe* alſo, for it was not ſecretly or covertly, but openly and in the Face of the World that this *Scheme* of a *Treaty* was *rejected* at home; and therefore if thoſe who were *known* to have *rejected it*, threw the *Blame* upon any other Perſon, and magnified the Nature of the Offence to ſuch a height as to ſuggeſt

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it might be the *Ground* of an *Impeachment*, nothing was ſo natural as to demand the *Proof* of the *Fact*; for without that Men muſt be *weak* to the laſt Degree, to acquieſce under, and believe it. Thus I think this Head of the Accuſation is proved to be very *highly improbable*, at leaſt, if not *abſolutely impoſſible*. This I ſay is proved, and very fully proved, even from their Manner of ſtating Things.

There is ſtill a *greater Abſurdity* in this, which I muſt alſo beg leave to bring your *Lordſhip*'s Notice. Such an Intrigue as that before-mentioned, allowing it to be poſſible, and that there could be found in the World *two* Men *cunning* enough to impoſe ſuch palpable Falſehoods upon a great Body of Men, never ſuſpected of want of common Senſe or Underſtanding, yet could not this be done in *Silence* or *Secrecy*; nor have the *Writers* of theſe *Pamphlets* ſuggeſted that it *was* ſo, becauſe the Fact was notoriouſly otherwiſe; and that very ſmall Foundation there is for this whole ſtory, was the popular *Rumour* at that time of an intended *Impeachment*. Now could this *Rumour* be popular, and yet not have come to the *Ears* of the *Perſon* who was to be *affected* by it?

it? As *a great Minister*, had he *no Intelligence?* or while this Matter was not only in the *Heart*, but in the *Mouths* of his *Enemies*, could it escape the *Ears* of his *Friends?* It certainly could not. Reflect then a little, *my Lord*, whether if things really were as these People have stated them, this great Person, this able Minister, this Favourite of his Master, this Head of the Administration, would have been so wanting to himself, as to have suffered such a *Rumour* to *prevail*, innocent as he was, and so capable of making his Innocence appear. Can you think this credible or possible? can you reconcile it to the Character of this noble Person, to to your own Opinion of him, or to the Sentiments of his Countrymen in general, with respect to his *great Parts* and *shining Abilities?*

No, *my Lord*, it is impossible after the smallest Deliberation you should, even if you were willing, deceive yourself into so silly, so idle a Notion. You must on the contrary be sensible, that he would never have suffered a thing of this Kind to sleep, but would have published the *Calumny* aloud, and have exposed it in the *proper Place* with all the *Thunder* of his *Eloquence*. Had such an Advantage been

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in his Power, *he* who is ſo capable of ſeizing and improving the *ſmalleſt* Advantages; had ſuch a one, I ſay, been in his Power, how *far* would he have carried it! He would moſt certainly have taken the *right*, the *proper* Step; he would have ſet on foot a ſtrict, a thorough *Enquiry*; he would have traced the whole *Tranſaction* from its Original to its Concluſion; he would have juſtified his *own* Conduct with that Grace and Dignity which ſuch a Situation would have inveſted him with; he would have pointed out the Sentiments, he would have expoſed the Behaviour of *others*, and in a word, he would have turned their *own* Artillery upon them, or he would have inſiſted on the moſt intire and abſolute Submiſſion, in caſe he had waved an *Impeachment*. For if thoſe Facts were truly ſtated, all this would have been *in his Power*; and if it had been *in his Power*, would it not have been *in his Will?* Breathes there a *Man* in *Britain*, who, if this had been *really* the *Caſe*, ſuſpects his *Capacity* to have made it *appear*, or his *Courage* to have brought it to the *Trial?* No, *my Lord*, there lives not ſuch a Man; and the *Injuſtice* offered to thoſe, who are ſuppoſed capable of ſuch *Falſehood* and *Treachery*,

Treachery, as to ſet on foot ſo baſe and groundleſs a *Charge*, falls ſhort of the *Indignity* offered to *him* who is ſuppoſed to have *ſunk* under it.

Another Particular there is, which it is abſolutely neceſſary I ſhould not ſlip over, and yet I muſt confeſs I know not how to find Words to expreſs it with Decency. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with juſt putting your Lordſhip in mind, that theſe Writers conſtantly maintain that this noble Perſon had his Maſter's Confidence, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with his Conduct, and well acquainted with his Innocence; and yet for all this he was removed, not by a formal Trial and a long Scene of pretended Proofs, or by an iniquitous Judgment founded upon no Proof at all, but by the Whiſper, the Talk, or at the very moſt, the Rumour of an *Impeachment*; which, for ſo great an Effect, is ſuggeſting ſo weak, ſo impotent a Cauſe, and carries in it ſuch Reflection as is not to be endured, much leſs believed. For this Reaſon, my Lord, I hope you will, for the future, treat romantick Hiſtories with that Contempt they deſerve, and not ſuffer political Pique to deprive you of God's Bleſſing, a good Underſtanding.

Upon

Upon the unravelling of this whole Affair, for I think I may now ſafely affirm it is unravelled, give me leave, my Lord, to make but one ſerious Obſervation, which is this; that it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to frame one of theſe Cabinet Anecdotes, without having them ſomewhere or other open to an eaſy and immediate Detection. For Example, in the preſent Caſe; if the Facts ſo confidently laid down had been true, how eaſy had it been for that great Miniſter to have brought about a Coalition of Parties in his own Favour? Your Lordſhip very well knows, that upon his leaving the Adminiſtration, the Lovers of Peace came in, and there cannot therefore be the leaſt doubt, that if he could have ſhewn his own Love for Peace, that with infinite Pains he had negotiated, and that he was happily at the point of concluding a good one, had it not been rejected by others, he would have been received with open Arms, by ſuch as had long profeſſed themſelves inclined to that Meaſure; and Things would have taken a new and extraordinary Turn againſt ſuch, as to ſerve their own private Purpoſes, and in equal Breach of their Duty to their Country and their Maſter, had defeated that

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ſalutary Purpoſe. Your Lordſhip cannot but ſee the Reaſon and the Force of this Obſervation, and without doing the greateſt Injuſtice to that Miniſter's Abilities, you cannot but confeſs, that nothing would have been more practicable or eaſy than for him to have brought about this, as moſt undoubtedly he would have brought it about, if that Diſcovery could have been *then* made, which theſe Writers boaſt ſo much of having made *now*.

Facts and Dates, my Lord, are ſtubborn Things, and therefore it is a dangerous Thing to found, or attempt to found, any Thing upon them which is not true. Now if what has been lately advanced be true, it muſt have been then true; and if ſo, I have made it as clear as the Sun at Noon-Day, that a contrary Event muſt have followed; but as that Event did not follow, as thoſe Facts at that time were not ſo much as heard of, tho' of infinitely greater Importance then than they are now, what muſt we conclude but that they never did exiſt, and that they are now invented and obtruded upon the World, merely to give a Colour to a falſe and groundleſs Accuſation amongſt ſuch People as are capable of ſwallowing

any Story, how crude and indigeſted ſoever, provided it turns to the Prejudice of ſuch as they oppoſe and hate? This is a plain, a natural and ſelf-evident Account of the Matter, which for that very Reaſon will reſiſt the Force of all the Objections and Sophiſms that can be ſet on foot to overturn it; and that it may do this the more effectually, I muſt crave your Lordſhip's Pardon for troubling you with the Refutation of ſome *ex poſt facto* Proofs that have been ſuggeſted by theſe Writers, upon which they are pleaſed to triumph, as if it ſurpaſſed the Wit of Man to ſee through their Contrivances, and to bring thoſe Truths into open Day, which they have exerted ſuch exquiſite Skill in hiding and obſcuring.

In the firſt Place, it is laid down as abſolutely concluſive in favour of their fictitious Relation, that when the End of the Impeachment was anſwered, the Impeachment was never more heard of; but thoſe who were then in the Oppoſition, to qualify their Chagrin at the Diſappointment, were admitted into a Share of the Adminiſtration. This, ſay they, ſhews what it was gave riſe to the Rumour of an Impeachment, and why thoſe who were promiſed it were admitted to a Partici-

ticipation of Power, by way of Equivalent for the Non-performance of that Promiſe. But may not this be turned full upon themſelves? If the Rumour of an Impeachment did the Buſineſs of an Impeachment, was it not full as well as if there had been an Impeachment; and if there were no Grounds, no Facts to have ſuppoſed that Impeachment, could the very Rumour of it be ſuppoſed to produce ſuch mighty Effects? or if it did produce them, ſhall that ſtand for a Proof that there were no Grounds, no Facts at all? Surely, my Lord, this is a kind of Logic intirely new in our political Schools, and which will certainly paſs only upon Freſhmen.

How much more eaſy and natural is it, to conceive that there was ſomething of quite another Nature in this Tranſaction, that the Events to which it refers were brought about by quite other Means than thoſe Writers have been pleaſed to ſuggeſt, or than I have any Authority to explain; and that being ſo produced, all Thoughts of an Impeachment were laid aſide, and ſo the Rumour ſunk by Degrees, and would have abſolutely died if theſe People had not thought fit to revive it. Another extraordinary Conclu-

ſion they have made, from a Circumſtance of a far later Date, a Circumſtance that did not happen till after the firſt Pamphlet was publiſh'd; and a Circumſtance which, they give us to underſtand, is not to be anſwered or refuted. It is but bare Juſtice, before one attempts to deſtroy the Force of the Objection, to produce it in their own Words. After repeating in their laſt Pamphlet that Charge which they had brought, and repeated twenty times before, hinting the Reception it met with when brought in another Place, they argue thus:

" If it had been poſſible for them to " purge themſelves, why did not they " embrace the Opportunity which " their Adverſaries gave them, by calling " for the Papers, *&c.* which had paſſed " between the two S——s on that Oc- " caſion? why on the contrary did they " avail themſelves of that miſerable Sub- " terfuge which the Word *Treaty* hap- " pened to furniſh them with, by deny- " ing that there had been a Treaty, be- " cauſe the Draught had never been " ſigned?"

It ſhould ſeem that the Authors of theſe Pamphlets, whoever they are, take themſelves to be very great Men, and abſolutely

ſolutely above all the Rules and Obligations to which other People think themſelves tyed, ſince not content with aſſuming the Liberty of treating even the moſt ſacred Characters in what manner they think fit, and ſetting the moſt important Facts in whatever Lights they pleaſe, they take Occaſion to be angry becauſe they cannot direct the Defence, as well as form, I was going to ſay, forge the Accuſation. They wanted, it ſeems, to ſee the Contents of certain Papers, and they are very wrath at being balked. But is it uſual for Accuſers to inſiſt, that ſuch as they charge ſhould furniſh them with Proofs, or the Means of finding Proofs? ought not theſe to have been in their own Power? ought they not to have laid down explicitly the Grounds upon which they went? and if they were in fact ſo wiſe as they would make themſelves, if there had been any ſuch Tranſactions as they gave out, and if their Solidity in Knowledge had anſwered in any Degree to their Boldneſs in aſſerting, would they not have fixed upon the Paper they wanted, inſtead of demanding ſuch Papers as they ſurmized there muſt be, to pick out ſomething

they might want? As to the pretended Quibble on the Word *Treaty*, there is nothing in it, for a Paper is no Treaty till it is ſigned; and it is abſurd to call it ſo on one Side, and very reaſonable to deny it ſo to be on the other. But theſe People are in love with Facts and Reaſons, they know them to be good Things, and they will have them to be on their Side, though the Facts never exiſted, and the Reaſons are directly againſt them. In this Caſe, what is to be done? why, juſt what they have done, ſet themſelves againſt Facts and Reaſons, and try to get the better of both, by poſitive Aſſertion, and obſtinate Clamour.

It would be equally troubleſome and tedious to your Lordſhip, and to myſelf, ſhould I endeavour to purſue theſe Writers Step by Step, and to detect in the ſame circumſtantial Manner all the Chimerical Narratives that are to be met with in their Writings; beſides this would require not one but many Pamphlets, nay ſome Volumes, and when done, would anſwer no other Purpoſe than may be anſwered without; for having ſhewn how egregiouſly they fail in reſpect to that very important Point, upon the Merit

of

of which they have themſelves ſtaked their Cauſe, what need is there of doing more? The Truth is, People are apt to be borne down by an Air of Self-ſufficiency in Argument, and ſuperior Knowledge in Point of Facts; ſo that if you remove but this Timidity, by giving them an Inſtance of Falſehood and Prevarication upon any ſingle Point, the Charm, or rather the Snare, is broken, and they are delivered. They want no farther Help; for having been ſhewn how one double Knot is untied, they find no great Difficulty in ſlipping the reſt themſelves. And in Truth, upon a ſtrict Survey of this laſt Pamphlet, I think any intelligent Reader may be ſafely truſted with it, provided he can be engaged to exerciſe his Thoughts freely, and ſuffers not himſelf to be cruſhed by the Weight of anonymous Authority.

Theſe Remarks your Lordſhip will allow to be well founded, when you conſider how much ordinary People are moved by that very ſtrange, and at the ſame Time ill-grounded Objection, that Miniſters would never ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed, when in their Power to refute and retort the Abuſe. But have great Miniſters nothing elſe to do? are

they obliged to enter the Liſts with every Pamphleteer, or take thoſe into their Service who ſhall? Your Lordſhip knows that the firſt is not to be expected, and are alſo ſenſible what has been thought, ſaid, and written as to the ſecond. An Oppoſition will be always ſtrong in Writers, becauſe even their Chiefs have Leiſure enough to write, and can very ſeldom employ their Time better, ſince ſometimes it ſerves a double Purpoſe, and gives them an Opportunity of methodizing their Thoughts upon Paper, and then letting them off again as Speeches; and thus the ſame Trouble has frequently gained a Man the Reputation of being a florid Orator, as well as being an excellent Pamphleteer.

Beſides all this, Miniſters labour under another and very ſenſible Diſadvantage; they are not at liberty to betray Secrets, or to tell all they know, upon any Provocation whatever. If that was to be the Caſe, they would find few inclined to treat with them, and ſtir up more to provoke them; for tho' it is an old and a coarſe Proverb, *Tell a Lye, and find a Truth*; yet Miniſters ought to keep this in their Memory, and muſt never ſuffer the Reſentment of their own Wrongs

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to become prejudicial to their Intereſts or their Characters; in ſhort, they are bound by as many Ties to Patience, as their Adverſaries are excited by different Motives to injure, and even to inſult them. It is therefore no Wonder at all that they are ſometimes ſilent in Diſputes that ſeem very much to affect them, for their Characters only run a Hazard from the Falſhoods their Enemies may take the Liberty of throwing out, but would be really betrayed and ſacrificed, if ſuffering themſelves to be thrown off their Guard, they ſhould either recriminate, or, to manifeſt their own Innocence, divulge what is their Duty to conceal. One muſt however grant, that ſome Inſtances might be produced againſt this Practice, but I may venture to ſay, that moſt, if not all of theſe would appear Arguments in favour of that Practice; ſince, where Miniſters have indulged themſelves in theſe Kind of Liberties, they have generally paid more dearly for them than if they had been tame under Abuſe. The famous Conde Duke *d'Olivarez* was ſupplanted and turned out of his Miniſtry upon Pretences that were for the moſt part falſe; yet the beſt Hiſtorians agree, that he would have infallibly

fallibly recovered the full Exercise of his Power, if he had remained quiet under the Loss of it; but he wrote a laboured and an excellent Vindication, which hurt indeed his Enemies, but hurt himself much more; for it laid open the Secrets of State in such a Manner, as rendered it impossible for a Prince, who still honoured him with his Affection, to repose any Confidence in him again.

Upon these Principles therefore we may account for the Conduct of wise and able Statesmen when in Power, and when out. When the former is their Station, they are never wanton or vindictive; and when in the latter Situation, they never suffer their Envy or Resentment to prompt them to any thing unworthy of their former Greatness. This is the true Reason that Volunteers in the Service of either have so few Lights, and are so little able to make Discoveries of important Secrets. They may indeed divulge many Things by dint of Conjecture, and please themselves with notional Memoirs of publick Transactions, calculated to serve the particular Views of their respective Parties, by deceiving such as are credulous enough to yield an implicit Belief to whatever appears in print,

print, who are content to receive confident Aſſertions for Evidence, and to be carried away by Arguments which have in reality no Foundation whatever, if the Facts upon which they are pretended to be founded are no Facts, or are falſely repreſented. This is a true and fair Repreſentation of thoſe Kind of political Trains, that are laid to propagate the Fire of Sedition, and to keep a great Nation always in a Flame. Thoſe therefore who are really ſolicitous about Truth, and would willingly judge of Things and Perſons as they really are, never ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by ſuch artificial and ſelf-intereſted Narratives, but conſider them as they ought to be conſidered; that is, in the Light of Party Manifeſtoes, which ought to be ſtrictly examined, more eſpecially in regard to Facts, and no more Weight allowed to the reaſoning Part of them, than is fairly derived from the Evidence with which theſe Facts are attended.

But notwithſtanding all this, there is no Queſtion to be made, that in a free Country both kinds of *Pieces* are of very great Uſe. While the Preſs is open and free from Reſtraint, Miniſters are obliged to act very cautiouſly, nor is it at all in

this

their Power to bring pernicious Projects to bear ſecretly or on a ſudden ; as thoſe Projects are generally brought to bear before a Nation can be aware of, or entertain a juſt Notion of their Tendency or Conſequences. It is ſcarce poſſible that any Project of this Kind can be ſo deep laid, or the real Ends of it ſo effectually covered, as to eſcape Obſervation ; and if obſerved, it will not be long before its Nature will be made thoroughly manifeſt, and the Miſchiefs with which it is big, amply explained, where the Preſs is in every Man's Power. On the other hand, tho' this (as indeed what Bleſſing is there that may not be abuſed ?) is frequently carried too far, and Miniſters, without any other Crime than that of their Station, are treated with all the Violence that Rancour and Malice can ſuggeſt ; yet this rarely affects them deeply, if there be no real Ground for Abuſe ; becauſe there is a natural Rectitude in the Minds of a free People, that hinders Men from condemning upon general Cenſure, and without ſpecifick and determinate Proofs.

It is in vain to talk of exorbitant Stretches of Power, Miniſterial Oppreſſion, and intolerable Wrongs offered to the Subject, when

when no Inſtances can be given of any thing of that Kind ; for the natural Anſwer upon the firſt ſuggeſting ſuch a Charge is, who has been ſo treated ? What ſay the Perſons who are injured ? for if there are no particular Complaints, it will be univerſally preſumed that ſuch a Charge is without Grounds ; for all the *Rhetorick* in the World, in a Caſe like this, is not equal even to a *trivial Fact*. Mankind in general are not competent Judges of the Abilities of a Miniſtry, nor always of their Virtues or of their Defects ; but Arrogance and Oppreſſion are not to be concealed or palliated : and therefore as Complaints upon this Subject are always beſt heard, and make the greateſt Impreſſion, ſo we may reſt ſatisfied, that when we hear nothing of them, we live under an Adminiſtration irreproachable in that Reſpect. This in itſelf is a very great Bleſſing, for as *nothing* is more liable to *Abuſe* than *Power*, ſo the Subjects in any Country have great Cauſe to be well pleaſed, when the worſt and moſt flagrant Abuſe of Power, of which Species Oppreſſion muſt be allowed to be, is not either felt or pretended.

There is indeed a *latent* Kind of *Oppreſſion* that commonly paſſes under another

ther Name; when Miniſters are in a Hurry to be *rich*, conſider the Publick only as their Patrimony, and endeavour to heap up *immenſe Wealth* by all the dirty Methods that *Avarice* can ſuggeſt; and very often the Means taken by Miniſters to acquire ſuch over-grown Fortunes, prove infinitely more *burthenſome* to the *People* than *profitable* to *themſelves* or their *Families*. But then this likewiſe is a Vice, conſidered in a political as well as a natural Senſe, that cannot be very *eaſily concealed*, becauſe the Effects that follow it commonly diſcover it. Vaſt Fortunes ſuddenly raiſed, or living at immenſe Expence, at the ſame Time that Miniſters Eſtates increaſe, are certain and unequivocal *Evidences* that their predominant Paſſion is the *Love* of *Money*. But wherever it happens that the People in general are ſatisfied of the *contrary* of *this*, and know, as well as a Thing of that Kind can be known, that Miniſters are *not rapacious*, that they have no Temptation to be *greedy* from their *needy Circumſtances*, and no Inclination to *boundleſs Wealth*, or Propenſity to provide in a princely Manner for a numerous Family, they will never fear any grievous Effects from the *Covetouſneſs* of ſuch

ſuch *Miniſters*. But if thoſe who *envy* them miſtake their own Intereſt ſo much as to erect a *Battery* on the *other Side*, and abuſe them for being *laviſh* of their *own* in the *publick Service*, the Fire will turn upon themſelves; and the *Publick* will expreſs, as they ought, a *Kindneſs* for *thoſe* who manifeſt a *Kindneſs* for them, and ſatisfied with the Honour of *ſerving*, think it beneath them to *plunder* their Country.

Another and no leſs fatal Digreſſion from their Duty, Miniſters may be ſometimes juſtly charged with, and that is, when they prefer the *Poſſeſſion* of *Power* to the *Capacity* of applying it *rightly*, and rendering their Labours for the *publick Service* truly *beneficial* to the *Publick*. Miniſters no way *defective* in Parts, and who in the main, perhaps, have no *ill Intentions* with regard to their *Country*, may notwithſtanding be ſo much in *love* with *Power*, and captivated in ſo high a Degree with the *Deſire* of being at the *head* of *Things*, as to have a Byaſs or Leaning in favour of *any Syſtem* requiſite to keep them *firm* in their *Poſts*, or to make them *ſhine* there with greater Dignity and Luſtre. This Diſpoſition, which of all others is the eaſieſt caught, and the hardeſt to be avoided in a *Court*, may prove of infinite Danger

ger to a *Nation*; when Men are ſwayed entirely by this *Appetite* for *Power* and *Place*, they will deny nothing that ſeems to them requiſite for its *Gratification*, and of Conſequence that reſpect for the Conſtitution, that Affection for the publick Welfare, which ought to hold the *firſt* Place in their Hearts, becomes no more than a *ſecondary* Conſideration. With this in any free Country, no doubt, Miniſters may be charged, as being inconſiſtent with the *Obligations* they owe to *Society*, for the Benefit of which they are intruſted with the Exerciſe of *Power*; but the *Proofs* of this are not ſo eaſy, as thoſe that are requiſite in the former Caſes. Miniſters who are ſenſible of this failing, will take all the *Methods* imaginable to *hide it*; notwithſtanding which, there are ſome Circumſtances in which in ſpite of all their Care it will *appear*, and thereby lay them open to Cenſure. But it would be a thing equally ſtrange and new, to hear the *want* of this *Diſpoſition* charged upon any Miniſters as an *Offence*, or as a Reaſon for *removing* them from the *Enjoyment* of *Power*, becauſe in Fact it is of all others the *beſt Title* they can have to *enjoy it*, and muſt

appear

appear ſuch in the *Eyes* of all *competent Judges.*

Thus it ſeems to be perfectly clear, that in every Government where there is a Liberty of ſpeaking and writing, it is a thing ſimply impoſſible that Miniſters ſhould be really *guilty* of *flagrant* and *dangerous* Offences, without their being brought to the *publick View*, and fully, fairly, and inconteſtably *proved* upon them. When the oppreſſive Miniſters of *Henry* the *ſeventh*, I mean *Epſom* and *Dudley*, were in the beginning of the ſucceeding Reign called to an Account for their Behaviour, it was indeed the Effects of univerſal Clamour; but it was a Clamour founded upon *Facts*, which were capable not only of *rational* but alſo of *legal* Proof. When Cardinal *Wolſey* was accuſed of graſping at an exceſſive and intolerable *Exerciſe* of *Authority*, joined with a *Rapaciouſneſs* inconſiſtent with the *Welfare* of the *State*, the Proofs were as clear and undeniable as the Nature of the Accuſation required; nor was it held to be any tolerable Excuſe, that the *Wealth* which he illegally amaſſed, was a *great Part* of it laid out in *uſeful*, and even in *publick Services*. And when in the ſame Reign, *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, a Man

of great Parts, and in many reſpects of good Intentions, made the *Dictates* of his Maſter's Will the ſole Rule of his Adminiſtration, this did not hinder the Diſcontents of the People from becoming fatal to him; ſo that, as our Hiſtorians obſerve, his Maſter thought fit at laſt to make him a Sacrifice, and that too in a very extraordinary Manner, for being rather the Inſtrument than the Author of evil Counſels. If therefore in thoſe times, when there was *hardly* any *Liberty*, the *Mal-adminiſtration* of Miniſters might be ſo fully proved as to oblige the moſt arbitrary of our Monarchs to give them up, how ſhould Oppreſſion, Avarice, or Want of publick Spirit, eſcape *in times like theſe?*

As in a Country where Liberty is really enjoyed, it is abſolutely impoſſible that Miniſters guilty of great Offences ſhould eſcape either Detection or Puniſhment; ſo without doubt it will be very difficult, if not impoſſible, in ſuch a Country, to fix univerſal Odium upon Miniſters that do not deſerve it, notwithſtanding, that in order to this, no Artifice ſhould be left untried, no Attention or Diligence ſhould be wanting. In arbitrary Governments, where all depends upon the Wit

and

and Will of a ſingle Perſon, this may be ſometimes brought about, becauſe Diſgrace under ſuch a Government may be attended with publick Odium, tho' it is not the Effect of it; and repeated Whiſpers, clandeſtine Intrigues, and falſe Repreſentations, may prevail even upon wiſe and well-meaning Princes to diſplace able and faithful Miniſters, for Actions that ought to have recommended them. But under milder Conſtitutions, nothing of this kind is practicable. Men may indeed accuſe the moſt innocent, but that Power can hardly prove fatal, where a full Liberty of anſwering is allowed, even to the moſt guilty. All Charges muſt be either ſelf-evident and notorious, or capable of being rendered ſo by particular Proofs; ſo that Charges unattended with theſe, however bold, however weighty, tho' they may ſurprize, can never convince even the Vulgar.

There may indeed be in ſuch Countries Men of reſtleſs Tempers, of envious and implacable Diſpoſitions, who pleaſed with nothing that is not abſolutely of their own doing, will extract the moſt heinous Crimes out of the moſt innocent Tranſactions, make Diſappointments culpable, allow no Merit even to

Succeſs, and to crown all, will inſiſt upon contradictory Accuſations at the ſame time. Theſe Pamphlets, my Lord, are the moſt flagrant Proofs of it, that perhaps the World ever ſaw; for in them, after Years had been ſpent in charging two Great Men with a diſhonourable Timidity, and an exceſſive Pronenes to Peace upon any Terms, the Indictment is ſuddenly changed; they are now ſaid to be the Friends and Prolongers of the War; and the Love of Peace is attributed to another Miniſter, who while in Power was never ſuſpected of this Paſſion. The Treaty of *Worms* too, always mentioned by, and attributed to him as the Work of his own Hands, is now aſcribed alſo to the Two Stateſmen before-mentioned. He made the Treaty indeed without conſulting them; but that is nothing to the purpoſe, they made the Neceſſity that made him make it. In this Treaty of that other Stateſman's making, were all the great Conceſſions to his *Sardinian* Majeſty; and yet Partiality to that Prince is charged upon the two Miniſters, tho' they deſerved it no other way than by executing punctually that Treaty and performing thoſe Promiſes which he had made.

It is notorious to all the World, that in every Seſſion of Parliament the Sums aſked by theſe Miniſters for carrying on the War, were treated by ſome People as exceſſive and extravagant, who at the ſame Time taxed them with being Dupes to their Allies, and upbraided them with undertaking again for thoſe whom they aſſerted to have deceived them before; yet now their Crime is being parſimonious, having too much Diffidence with reſpect to foreign Projects, and being backward in concluding Alliances, tho' they were formerly accuſed of making them too haſtily, and of ſquandering the Nation's Money in granting Subſidies, for not granting which in a larger Proportion, and earlier in point of Time, they are now called to anſwer. At this Rate of reckoning it is impoſſible for them to be innocent; if they granted, that is apparent Prodigality; if they with-held, an ill-timed and deſtructive Frugality; their Deliberation is dangerous Inactivity, their Quickneſs is the Effects of natural Violence and Hurry. But ſurely when it appears, that People are reſolutely bent to allow that nothing can be right, it may be very fairly preſumed, that their bare

bare Aſſertions are no competent Evidence that any thing is wrong.

Almoſt in the ſame Page they are accuſed of Neglect and Diſreſpect to foreign Miniſters, and for paying them an unjuſtifiable Regard, and allowing them a ſuſpicious Degree of Intimacy; which Extravagance can be only outdone, by treating it as a criminal Piece of Ceremony, to invite a Foreigner of high Diſtinction more than once to Dinner. Whatever Projects were of their Propoſing, tho' in reſpect to Matters moſt agreeable to the Intereſts and the Inclinations of the *Britiſh* People, are treated as wild, impracticable, and ridiculous; whatever Schemes they rejected, would have been infallibly attended with Succeſs; whereas even thoſe that they adopted became uſeleſs and void of Effect from their ill Management. They never did any thing in Seaſon, but either contracted too early, or performed their Contracts too late. It was not the Strength of the Enemy, however ſuperior, it was not any Deficiency in our Allies, however notorious, to which Misfortunes were to be attributed, but to theſe Miniſters; they, and they only were to be accountable for the Miſunderſtandings of Admirals whom they did not employ;

employ; and even the Miſbehaviour of Troops, in Spite of all that could be done by their Officers, muſt by theſe Advocates for ſtrict Juſtice, be imputed only to them.

The ſupporting publick Credit at home in a Time of open Rebellion, was no Teſtimony of their Wiſdom; the Mildneſs of their Adminiſtration, when the Laws which ſupport our Liberties were ſuſpended, was no Proof of their Love of Freedom; their Firmneſs in carrying on the War at that Time, is declared to be no Mark of Courage; the reſtoring the Peace of *Germany*, and making an Emperor in that confuſed State of Things, is not all to be aſcribed to them; in ſhort, whatever they adviſed was weak, or *mal à propos*; whatever they attempted in vain, was foreſeen by every body but themſelves; and whatever they executed with Succeſs, was the Effect rather of Chance than of Deſign; when they were zealous for the War, it was to render it unſucceſsful; when they declined making a ſeparate Peace, it was from Temerity and Indiſcretion; when they accepted a general one, it was produced by Timidity and Deſpair. This long Series of heavy Charges, without any Support but

but from Facts distorted, and Fictions as improbable as they are groundless, prove the Guilt only of their Contrivers; and how ready some Men are to misapply Parts, and expose their own great Abilities, to fight other Peoples Quarrels unsought, and gratify an unprovoked, an undeserved Resentment. I am

Your LORDSHIP's

Obedient Humble Servant.